

## Message Text

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SUBJECT:HIRC REPORT ON SECURITY ASSISTANCE BILL:EASTERN MED

FOLLOWING ARE PORTIONS OF THE HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
COMMITTEE REPORT DATED MAY 12 RE SECURITY ASSISTANCE AUTHOR-  
IZATION BILL AS THEY RELATE TO GREECE, TURKEY AND CYPRUS.

BEGIN QUOTE: GREECE-TURKEY. LIFTING THE ARMS EMBARGO  
AGAINST TURKEY IS IMPORTANT TO U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY IN-  
TERESTS AND TO THE NATIONAL SECURITY INTERESTS OF AMERICAN  
ALLIES. IT IS IMPORTANT FOR FULL COOPERATION WITH TURKEY TO  
MEET THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE NATO ALLIANCE, IMPORTANT TO FA-  
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CILITATE JOINT AND ALLIED DEFENSE PLANNING AND TO ENHANCE  
ALLIED SUPPORT FOR TURKEY'S NATO NEEDS VIA THIRD COUNTRY  
TRANSFERS AND IMPROVED STANDARDIZATION. FAILURE TO LIFT THE  
EMBARGO WOULD AFFECT ADVERSELY U.S. SECURITY INTERESTS AND  
THE PROSPECTS FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE DISPUTE ON  
CYPRUS.

IN VOTING TO LIFT THE EMBARGO, THE COMMITTEE REACHED THE  
FOLLOWING CONCLUSIONS:

FIRST, THE 4-YEAR-OLD EMBARGO AGAINST TURKEY HAS NOT WORKED. U.S. RELATIONS WITH GREECE, TURKEY, AND CYPRUS HAVE SUFFERED AND LITTLE PROGRESS TOWARD A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT HAS OCCURRED.

SECOND, THE EMBARGO HAS JEOPARDIZED U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY AND THAT OF NATO ALLIES. THE EMBARGO HAS BECOME SELF-DEFEATING AND THE SECURITY OF NATO'S SOUTHERN FLANK HAS BEEN WEAKENED; THE UNITED STATES HAS LOST ACCESS TO IMPORTANT INTELLIGENCE FACILITIES AND HAS BEEN ABLE TO DO LITTLE TO SHORE UP EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN DEFENSES AT A TIME OF A DETERMINED SOVIET BUILDUP IN EUROPE.

THIRD, THE EMBARGO IS CAUSING TURKEY TO REASSESS ITS RELATIONS WITH THE WEST.

FOURTH, LIFTING THE EMBARGO OFFERS THE BEST HOPE FOR CREATING A CLIMATE WHICH WILL FACILITATE CONSTRUCTIVE NEGOTIATIONS FOR A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT.

IN GIVING THE ADMINISTRATION A CHANCE TO TRY A NEW TACTIC TO BRING ABOUT MOVEMENT ON CYPRUS, THE COMMITTEE EXPECTS THAT MEASUREABLE PROGRESS WILL OCCUR IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE.

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IN CONSIDERING ITS ACTION, THE COMMITTEE CAREFULLY REVIEWED U.S. RELATIONS WITH GREECE, TURKEY, AND CYPRUS AND THE LACK OF PROGRESS TOWARD A SETTLEMENT OF THE CYPRUS DISPUTE.

ON APRIL 6, 1978, THE COMMITTEE RECEIVED TESTIMONY FROM SECRETARY OF STATE CYRUS R. VANCE, SECRETARY OF DEFENSE HAROLD BROWN, GEN. DAVID JONES, CHAIRMAN-DESIGNATE OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF, AND DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER ON EXECUTIVE BRANCH PROPOSALS CONCERNING THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. IN THAT HEARING, EXECUTIVE BRANCH WITNESSES POINTED OUT THE STRATEGIC NECESSITIES THAT CAUSED THEM TO FAVOR A NEW APPROACH TO TURKEY AND INDICATED THEIR VIEW THAT THE EMBARGO THAT HAS BEEN IN PLACE SINCE 1975 HAS SUCCESSFULLY DEMONSTRATED THAT ALL FACETS OF AGREEMENTS UNDERTAKEN WITH THE UNITED STATES MUST BE HONORED OR SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES FACED.

CONTINUATION OF THE EMBARGO IS NOT IN U.S. INTERESTS. AS SECRETARY OF STATE VANCE STATED, "CONTINUED MAINTENANCE OF THE EMBARGO WOULD BE HARMFUL TO U.S. SECURITY CONCERNS, HARMFUL TO NATO, HARMFUL TO OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH TURKEY AND HARMFUL TO OUR ROLE AS A POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTOR TO A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT."

THE SECRETARY OF STATE POINTED OUT THAT, AS THE JUNCTION POINT OF SEVERAL CRITICAL AREAS, THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN CONTINUES TO HOLD CLEAR STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE. UNFORTUN-

ATELY, THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THIS FLANK HAS BEEN ERODED IN

A MANNER THAT IS OF GRAVE CONCERN TO THE UNITED STATES AND ITS ALLIES. HE MENTIONED GREEK WITHDRAWAL FROM NATO'S INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCTURE AND THE DETERIORATION OF THE MATERIAL READINESS OF TURKEY AS MAJOR PROBLEMS.

ON CYPRUS, THE SECRETARY POINTED OUT THAT THE TASK NOW IS TO UNCLASSIFIED

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MOVE TOWARD A CONCRETE AGREEMENT ACCEPTABLE TO THE TWO COMMUNITIES ON CYPRUS. IN THE SECRETARY'S VIEW, FAILURE TO LIFT THE EMBARGO WILL REDUCE CHANCES OF A SUCCESSFUL RESOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS SITUATION.

SECRETARY OF DEFENSE HAROLD BROWN FURTHER EXPRESSED THE NEED FOR A NEW APPROACH TO TURKEY AS FOLLOWS: "UNLESS OUR SECURITY RELATIONSHIP WITH TURKEY IS RETURNED TO A SOUND FOOTING, TURKEY'S SENSE OF ISOLATION WILL CONTINUE TO GROW, AND NATIONALISTIC PRESSURES WILL EDGE IT TOWARD A SEARCH FOR POSSIBLE NON-NATO SOURCES TO SATISFY ITS DEFENSE REQUIREMENTS. SUCH AN EVENTUALITY, WE JUDGE, WOULD NOT BE IN TURKEY'S BEST INTERESTS, NOR THE U.S. INTERESTS, NOR THE INTERESTS OF NATO, NOR THOSE OF GREECE," BECAUSE OF THE ARMS EMBARGO AND THE SUBSEQUENT ACTION BY TURKEY TO CLOSE FIVE U.S. MILITARY INSTALLATIONS IN THAT COUNTRY, THE UNITED STATES HAS LOST INTELLIGENCE INFORMATION NOT AVAILABLE FROM OTHER SOURCES. ACCORDING TO SECRETARY BROWN, IF THE EMBARGO IS LEFT IN EFFECT, THE MILITARY SITUATION IN TURKEY WILL CONTINUE TO DECLINE, TO THE DETRIMENT OF U.S. SECURITY INTERESTS.

ON APRIL 19 AND AGAIN ON APRIL 25, THE COMMITTEE RECEIVED FURTHER TESTIMONY FROM MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AND FROM PUBLIC WITNESSES. REPRESENTATIVE JOHN BRADEMAS AND SENATORS THOMAS F. EAGLETON AND PAUL S. SARBANES TOGETHER TESTIFIED IN OPPOSITION TO THE PROPOSED LIFTING OF THE ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST TURKEY ON THE GROUNDS THAT SUCH AN ACTION WOULD UNDERMINE THE RULE OF LAW IN THE EXECUTION OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY, RAISE SERIOUS DOUBTS ABOUT THE CREDIBILITY OF AMERICA'S COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS, CALL INTO QUESTION U.S. NATIONAL COMMITMENT TO THE CONTROL OF U.S. ARMS SALES ABROAD, MAKE MORE DIFFICULT THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT, EN- UNCLASSIFIED

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COURAGE FURTHER GROWTH OF ANTI-AMERICAN FORCES IN GREECE, MAKE VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE THE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONSHIPS AMONG TURKEY, GREECE, AND CYPRUS AND BETWEEN THEM AND THE U.S. AND VIOLATE CAMPAIGN PROMISES OF PRESIDENT CARTER.

OTHER WITNESSES INCLUDED GEN. LYMAN L. LEMINITZER, USA (RETIRED) AND DR. Z. MICHAEL SZAZ, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY INSTITUTE, BOTH OF WHOM TESTIFIED IN FAVOR OF LIFTING THE EMBARGO. ALSO TESTIFYING WAS DR. COSTAS

C. ALEXANDRIDES, WHO WAS OPPOSED TO LIFTING THE EMBARGO.

ON APRIL 25, KENNETH RUSH, CHAIRMAN OF THE ATLANTIC COUNCIL AND PROF. ALBERT WOHLSTETTER OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO APPEARED TO STATE THEIR VIEWS IN FAVOR OF LIFTING THE EMBARGO.

ON APRIL 25, THE SECRETARY OF STATE TRANSMITTED TO THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES A PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE DRAFT INTERNATIONAL SECURITY ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1978 TRANSMITTED TO THE CONGRESS BY EARLIER COMMUNICATION. HIS FIVE PROPOSALS WERE AS FOLLOWS:

(,) TO ADD DOLS 50 MILLION IN SECURITY SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE TO PROVIDE A BALANCE OF PAYMENTS LOAN TO TURKEY;

(2) TO INCREASE THE AUTHORIZATION FOR FOREIGN MILITARY SALES CREDITS AND GUARANTIES BY DOLS 1.8 MILLION TO ADD TO THE DOLS 12.2 MILLION ALREADY PROPOSED, AND THE AGGREGATE CEILING BY DOLS 18 MILLION, TO ADD TO THE DOLS 122 MILLION ALREADY PROGRAMED FOR GREECE;

(3) TO ELIMINATE THE FISCAL YEAR 1979 AUTHORIZATION OF ADDITIONAL FUNDS TO IMPLEMENT DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENTS WITH GREECE AND TURKEY;

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(4) TO REPEAL SECTION 620(X) OF THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1961 WHICH PROHIBITS DELIVERY OF PREVIOUSLY ORDERED GRANT MATERIAL TO TURKEY UNDER THE MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM AND PROHIBITS SALES AND FINANCING FOR TURKEY IN EXCESS OF DOLS 175 MILLION IN FISCAL YEAR 1978 AS WELL AS CONTINUATION OF SALES AND FINANCING FOR TURKEY AFTER SEPTEMBER 30, 1978, UNDER THE FOREIGN MILITARY SALES PROGRAM; AND

(5) TO REPEAL THE ALLOCATION OF DOLS 48 MILLION FOR TURKEY UNDER THE MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR FISCAL YEAR 1978.

IN ITS MARKUP SESSION ON MAY 3, 1978, THE COMMITTEE EFFECTED ALL OF THE CHANGES RECOMMENDED BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE. BECAUSE AUTHORIZATIONS FOR SECURITY SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS ARE NOT BEING MADE DUE TO THE REDESIGNATION OF SECURITY SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE AS EITHER ECONOMIC SUPPORT FUND OR PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS ASSISTANCE, THE DOLS 50 MILLION RECOMMENDED IN THE FORM OF BALANCE OF PAYMENTS LOAN TO TURKEY IS BEING ADDED TO THE ECONOMIC SUPPORT FUND.

THE COMMITTEE VOTED TO LIFT THE EMBARGO ON TURKEY WITH THE KNOWLEDGE THAT A STALEMATE HAD BEEN REACHED BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY AND THAT MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATIONS WERE IMPOSSIBLE

WITHOUT SOME MOVEMENT. SINCE NONE OF THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE CONFLICT COULD OR WOULD MOVE, THE ALTERNATIVE WAS FOR THE UNITED STATES TO TAKE SOME ACTION WHICH WOULD MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR TURKEY TO TAKE THE LEAD IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

EXPERIENCE HAS SHOWN THAT NOT ONLY HAS THE EMBARGO NOT WORKED, BUT IT HAS ACTUALLY IMPEDED NEGOTIATIONS. TURKEY WOULD NOT MAKE ANY MEANINGFUL CONCESSIONS WITH RESPECT TO UNCLASSIFIED

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CYPRUS AS LONG AS THE EMBARGO REMAINED IN EFFECT. MEANWHILE ITS ABILITY TO FULFILL ITS NATO RESPONSIBILITIES WAS DETERIORATING. IN FACT, THE SITUATION WAS THE WORST OF BOTH WORLDS.

BY LIFTING THE PROHIBITION ON MILITARY ASSISTANCE AND SALES TO TURKEY, THE COMMITTEE IS HOPEFUL THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF THAT COUNTRY WILL NOW REVIEW ITS POSITION ON CYPRUS. IF THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO IS TO BE PERMANENT, THERE MUST BE TURKISH CONCESSIONS ON CYPRUS.

MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS WILL BE WATCHING THE SITUATION CLOSELY. AS ONE MEMBER OBSERVED DURING CONSIDERATION OF THE AMENDMENT LIFTING THE EMBARGO: "MR. CHAIRMAN, AN IMPROVED CLIMATE FOR NEGOTIATIONS IS NOT ENOUGH. THERE HAS TO BE MOVEMENT ON CYPRUS. IF TURKEY DOES NOT MOVE, IF IT DOES NOT COME, HELL WILL HAVE NO FURY LIKE THE FURY OF THIS MEMBER OF CONGRESS. IF TURKEY DOES NOT MOVE, THEN CONGRESS WILL NOT MOVE TO LIFT THE EMBARGO, REGARDLESS OF THE ACTION OF THIS COMMITTEE."

THE COMMITTEE ADDED TO THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH REQUEST TWO ADDITIONAL PROVISIONS. IT INCREASED THE AMOUNT OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE BY DOLS 35 MILLION, EARMARKED FOR GREECE, IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN PROPORTIONALITY IN THE VALUE OF TOTAL MILITARY ASSISTANCE MADE AVAILABLE TO BOTH GREECE AND TURKEY. IT ADDITIONALLY ADDED PROVISIONS CONCERNING THE CYPRUS SETTLEMENT.

SECTION 18 OF THE BILL MAKES A CONGRESSIONAL DECLARATION THAT ACHIEVEMENT OF A JUST AND LASTING CYPRUS SETTLEMENT IS AND WILL REMAIN A CENTRAL OBJECTIVE OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY. THE POLICY STATEMENT FURTHER DECLARES THAT U.S. POLICIES IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN REGION SHALL BE CONSISTENT WITH THE FOLLOWING PRINCIPLES: (1) "THE U.S. GOVERNMENT WILL ACCORD FULL SUPPORT AND HIGH PRIORITY TO EFFORTS, INCLUDING

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THOSE OF THE UNITED NATIONS, TO BRING ABOUT A PROMPT, PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN CYPRUS WHICH WILL PERMIT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A FREE AND INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT ON CYPRUS AND WHICH GUARANTEES THAT THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE OF

CYPRUS ARE FULLY PROTECTED." AND (2) "ALL DEFENSE ARTICLES FURNISHED TO COUNTRIES IN THE REGION BY THE UNITED STATES WILL BE USED ONLY IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1961, THE ARMS EXPORT CONTROL ACT, AND THE AGREEMENTS UNDER WHICH THOSE DEFENSE ARTICLES WERE FURNISHED."

THE STATEMENT ON CYPRUS FURTHER ESTABLISHED THAT DEFENSE ARTICLES MAY BE FURNISHED TO COUNTRIES IN THE REGION ONLY WHEN THE PRESIDENT DETERMINES THAT IT IS CONSISTENT WITH THE U.S. OBJECTIVE OF A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT AMONG ALL PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT. IN PROPOSING SECURITY ASSISTANCE FOR GREECE AND TURKEY, THE PRESIDENT MUST CERTIFY AND REPORT TO CONGRESS THAT SECURITY ASSISTANCE FOR GREECE AND TURKEY IS INTENDED SOLELY FOR DEFENSIVE PURPOSES OR IS NECESSARY TO ENABLE EITHER COUNTRY TO FULFILL NATO RESPONSIBILITIES.

THE STATEMENT ON CYPRUS FURTHER AFFIRMS THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT SHALL USE ITS INFLUENCE TO INSURE THE CONTINUATION OF A CREASEFIRE ON CYPRUS UNTIL AN EQUITABLE NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IS REACHED.

THE SECTION ON CYPRUS CONTINUES TO REQUIRE A REPORT, NOW REQUIRED IN SECTION 620(X) OF THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1961, EVERY 60 DAYS ON PROGRESS MADE TOWARD THE CONCLUSION OF A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF THE CYPRUS CONFLICT. END QUOTE.

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BEGIN QUOTE: SUPPLEMENTAL VIEWS OF HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

FOR OVER 3 YEARS NOW, I HAVE FELT A DEEP SENSE OF FRUSTRATION REGARDING THE SITUATION IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN-- A CONCERN THAT I KNOW IS SHARED BY MY COLLEAGUES ON THE COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND IN CONGRESS AS A WHOLE. DURING THIS PERIOD WE HAVE WITNESSED AN IMPASSE ON CYPRUS AND A DETERIORATION IN U.S. BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH BOTH GREECE AND TURKEY. THIS IS A SITUATION WHICH IS EXTREMELY DISTURBING AND DAMAGING TO FUNDAMENTAL U.S. INTERESTS.

AT THE REQUEST OF PRESIDENT CARTER, CONGRESS IS CURRENTLY ENGAGED IN REVIEWING U.S. POLICY TOWARD THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN, ITS OBJECTIVES AND ITS ABILITY TO ACHIEVE THOSE OBJECTIVES. OF PRINCIPAL CONCERN IS WHETHER OR NOT CONGRESS SHOULD NOW DIRECT THE PRESIDENT TO END THAT EMBARGO OR PROLONG IT. THERE ARE ARGUMENTS OF TAXING COMPLEXITY ON BOTH SIDES OF THIS ISSUE WHICH MAKE THIS A DIFFICULT DECISION,

INDEED. FOR ME, IT HAS NOT BEEN WITHOUT PERSONAL AGONY AS WELL, AWARE AS I AM OF THE EMOTIONS AND EXPECTATIONS THIS ISSUE GENERATES AMONG SO MANY.

I HAVE BEEN STRUCK, HOWEVER, BY THE EXTREME IMPORTANCE TWO PRESIDENTS AND TWO SECRETARIES OF STATE OF DIFFERING POLITICAL PARTIES ATTACH TO LIFTING THE ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST TURKEY. PRESIDENTS FORD AND CARTER HAVE BOTH EMPHASIZED THAT ONLY BY LIFTING THE EMBARGO WILL WE PROMOTE A RESOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS SITUATION AND A RESTORATION OF U.S. BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH GREECE AND TURKEY. ALSO, IN TESTIMONY BEFORE THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE, SECRETARY OF STATE VANCE STRONGLY SUPPORTED THIS ADMINISTRATION'S REQUEST FOR A CONGRESSIONAL REPEAL OF THE EMBARGO.

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HE EMPHASIZED THAT THE ARMS EMBARGO POSES DEEPENING RISKS FOR U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY INTERESTS. IT HAS DAMAGED U.S. DEFENSE CAPABILITIES IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AND IN THE MIDDLE EAST. A CONTINUATION OF THE EMBARGO WOULD PROVOKE AN ALIENATION OF TURKEY FROM THE UNITED STATES AND FROM THE WEST WHICH WOULD THREATEN THE VIABILITY OF NATO'S SOUTHERN FLANK. YET, THE IMPORTANCE OF TURKEY TO NATO AND TO U.S. SECURITY IS GREAT:

TURKEY CONTROLS THE DARDANELLES-A VITAL GATEWAY TO THE MEDITERRANEAN.

TURKEY HAS NUMEROUS STRATEGIC MILITARY BASES.

TURKEY IS ESSENTIAL TO NATO'S SOUTHERN FLANK AND IN PARTICULAR, THE U.S. 6TH FLEET.

TURKISH GROUND FORCES, THIRD LARGEST IN NATO, CAN HELP TO COUNTER THE SOVIET THREAT.

TURKEY HAS VITAL U.S. INTELLIGENCE BASES NECESSARY TO THE MONITORING OF SOVIET CONVENTIONAL AND STRATEGIC ACTIVITIES.

AND, INDEED, TURKEY'S PARTICIPATION IN NATO, AS WELL AS ITS GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION, HELPS TO STRENGTHEN THE STRATEGIC POSITION OF GREECE. A STRONG GREECE IS ALSO CRITICAL NOT ONLY TO ITS OWN DEFENSE BUT ALSO TO THE ABILITY OF NATO TO DETER

AGGRESSION. THEREFORE, I ENTHUSIASTICALLY SUPPORT THE AMENDMENT OFFERED BY THE GENTLEMAN FROM NEW YORK, MR. BINGHAM, TO PROVIDE GREECE WITH DOLS 35 MILLION IN GRANT MILITARY AID IN ADDITION TO THE DOLS 140 MILLION IN FOREIGN MILITARY SALES CREDITS PRESIDENT CARTER REQUESTED. THE TOTAL OF DOLS 175 MILLION IN MILITARY ASSISTANCE FOR GREECE NOW UNCLASSIFIED

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EQUALS THE DOLS 175 MILLION IN FOREIGN MILITARY SALES

CREDITS REQUESTED FOR TURKEY. THIS SYMBOLIZES THE IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO FRIENDSHIP AND SECURITY TIES WITH BOTH GREECE AND TURKEY.

THEREFORE, I BELIEVE THAT THE LONG-TERM INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF GREECE ARE MORE LIKELY TO BE SERVED BY CONGRESS LIFTING THE EMBARGO THAN BY KEEPING IT IN PLACE. SHOULD TURKEY DRIFT AWAY FROM THE WEST AND STEER A MORE NEUTRAL COURSE, IT WILL BECOME SUSCEPTIBLE TO THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY PRESSURES OF ITS EASTERN NEIGHBORS.

IN VOTING IN COMMITTEE TO LIFT THE EMBARGO, I HAVE THUS TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY CONCERNS. MY VOTE, HOWEVER, ALSO STEMMED FROM THE BELIEF THAT IT WILL CONTRIBUTE TO ENCOURAGING PROGRESS TOWARD A CYPRUS AGREEMENT. MINDFUL OF THE CLOSE VOTE IN COMMITTEE, I WOULD HOPE THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF TURKEY WOULD NOW RESPOND TO THIS DEMONSTRATION OF FLEXIBILITY BY THE MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE INCLUDING MYSELF, WITH A RECIPROCAL ATTEMPT AT FLEXIBILITY AND ACCOMMODATION ON CYPRUS. THIS VOTE SHOULD BE THE BEGINNING OF A STEADY PROCESS TOWARD PEACE IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. WM. BROOMFIELD. END QUOTE.

BEGIN QUOTE: SEPARATE VIEWS OF REPRESENTATIVES DANTE B. FASCELL, CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR., ROBERT N.C. NIX, DONALD M. FRASER, BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL, LESTER L. WOLFF, GUS YATRON, MICHAEL HARRINGTON, CARLISS COLLINS, HELEN S. MEYNER, GERRY E. STUDDS, ANDY IRELAND, ANTHONY C. BEILENSON, WYCHE FOWLER, JR., JOHN J. CAVANAUGH, EDWARD J. DERWINSKI, J. HERBERT BURKE, BENJAMIN GILMAN, AND TENNYSON GUYER.

A MAJORITY OF THE MEMBERS OF THIS COMMITTEE OPPOSE THE ADMINISTRATION'S EFFORTS TO REPEAL SECTION 620(X) OF THE UNCLASSIFIED

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FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT, WHICH NOW PROVIDES FOR A LIMITED ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST TURKEY.

WE HAVE REACHED THIS POSITION FOR A VARIETY OF REASONS,



AMONG WHICH ARE THE FOLLOWING:

AS SUPPORTERS OF THE RULE OF LAW IN THE CONDUCT OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, WE RECOGNIZE THAT TURKEY'S SECOND INVASION OF CYPRUS IN AUGUST 1974, WAS A CLEAR VIOLATION OF THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT, THE FOREIGN MILITARY SALES ACT, AND OUR BILATERAL AGREEMENTS WITH TURKEY RESPECTING THE PROPER USE OF AMERICAN-SUPPLIED WEAPONS. THE CONTINUING OCCUPATION BY TURKEY OF 40 PERCENT OF CYPRUS CONSTITUTES A CONTINUING VIOLATION OF THOSE LAWS AND AGREEMENTS.

AS SUPPORTERS OF NATO, WE RECOGNIZE THE GREAT IMPORTANCE OF OUR SOUTHEASTERN EUROPEAN DEFENSE FLANK, AND WE HESITATE TO TAKE ANY ACTION WHICH MIGHT THREATEN THE FULL PARTICIPATION OF BOTH TURKEY AND GREECE IN THAT DEFENSE EFFORT.

AS SUPPORTERS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, WE ARE NOT CONVINCED THAT LIFTING THE EMBARGO CONSTITUTES A COURSE LIKELY TO LEAD TO A JUST SETTLEMENT OF THE CYPRUS TRAGEDY AND A RESOLUTION OF THE REFUGEE PROBLEM.

AS SUPPORTERS OF RESTRAINT IN U.S. ARMS SALES ABROAD, WE FEEL THAT LIFTING THE EMBARGO BEFORE TURKEY HAS TAKEN THE SUBSTANTIVE ACTIONS NECESSARY TO A SETTLEMENT ON CYPRUS WOULD SERVE AS A HARMFUL PRECEDENT TO FUTURE RECIPIENTS OF AMERICAN WEAPONS.

AND, FINALLY, AS PRACTICAL MEN AND WOMEN, WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE EMBARGO IS, EVEN NOW, A LIMITED ONE. TURKEY HAS RE-  
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CEIVED DOLS 600 MILLION IN U.S. ARMS SINCE THE EMBARGO WAS FIRST IMPOSED. EVEN IF THE ADMINISTRATION'S AMENDMENT IS DEFEATED, TURKEY WILL STILL RECEIVE AN ADDITIONAL DOLS 175 MILLION IN U.S. ARMS FOR FISCAL YEAR 1979. MOREOVER, THE PROVISIONS OF SECTIONS 620(X) THEMSELVES PERMIT PRESIDENT CARTER TO END THE EMBARGO IN A MOMENT, IF HE IS WILLING TO CERTIFY TO THE CONGRESS THAT TURKEY IS IN COMPLIANCE WITH THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1961, THE FOREIGN MILITARY SALES ACT, AND ITS BILATERAL AGREEMENTS WITH THE UNITED STATES, AND THAT SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE TOWARD AN AGREEMENT REGARDING MILITARY FORCES ON CYPRUS. WE BELIEVE THAT THESE PROVISIONS OFFER AN APPROPRIATE MEANS OF DEALING WITH THE TURKISH ARMS QUESTION.

FOR THE FOREGOING REASONS, WE BELIEVE THAT THE ADMINISTRATION'S EFFORT TO END THE TURKISH ARMS EMBARGO AT THIS TIME SHOULD BE DEFEATED. END QUOTE.

BEGIN QUOTE: ADDITIONAL VIEWS OF REPRESENTATIVES LEE H. HAMILTON, STEPHEN J. SOLARZ, DONALD J. PEASE, GEORGE E. DANIELSON, PAUL FINDLEY, CHARLES W. WHALEN, JR., LARRY

WINN, JR., AND ROBERT J. LAGOMARSINO

WE BELIEVE IT IS TIME TO LIFT THE U.S. ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST TURKEY.

FIRST, THE ARMS EMBARGO HAS FAILED TO ACHIEVE ITS INTENDED OBJECTIVE OF PROMOTING A SETTLEMENT ON CYPRUS. INDEED, THE EMBARGO SEEMS TO HAVE STIFFENED RESISTANCE TO ACCOMMODATION BY ENCOURAGING BOTH SIDES, FOR THEIR OWN REASONS, TO WITHHOLD NECESSARY CONCESSIONS. TURKEY, A PROUD AND FIRMLY IN-

DEPENDENT NATION, REJECTS THE IDEA OF YIELDING TO PRESSURE. THE TURKS FIND THE EMBARGO A PAINFUL HUMILIATION; ITS CONTINUATION MAKES CONCESSIONS BY THE TURKS MORE DIFFICULT. GREECE, ON THE OTHER HAND, BELIEVES THAT MOVEMENT IN THE UNCLASSIFIED

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NEGOTIATIONS WILL LEAD TO THE EMBARGO'S DEMISE. BY LIFTING THE EMBARGO AND RETURNING TO A POLICY OF EVENHANDEDNESS, THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTRIBUTE TO AN ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH CONSTRUCTIVE COOPERATION CAN OCCUR. THIS WOULD BE THE INITIAL STEP TOWARDS RESOLVING SEVERAL CONTENTIOUS ISSUES THAT MAR OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH TWO ALLIES AND THAT FRUSTRATE PROGRESS IN CYPRUS.

SECOND, THE ARMS EMBARGO HAS JEOPARDIZED NATO'S SECURITY, THE LONG-RANGE DEFENSE INTERESTS OF GREEK, AND U.S. CAPABILITIES IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AND MIDDLE EAST. THESE DAMAGING CONSEQUENCES ARE MAGNIFIED BY THE UNPRECEDENTED BUILDUP OF SOVIET FORCES ON BOTH THE SOUTHERN FLANK AND THE CENTRAL FRONT. THE DECLINE OF TURKEY'S FORCES LEAVES THE WHOLE OF SOUTHEAST EUROPE MORE VULNERABLE TO SOVIET COERCION. THESE ARE THE VERY FORCES, MOREOVER, THAT WOULD BE NEEDED TO STEM SOVIET PRESSURES ON GREECE ITSELF THROUGH THE INTERDICTION OF AIR NAVAL SUPPLY EFFORTS BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND BULGARIA.

TURKEY'S COOPERATION IS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO NATO AND TO THE UNITED STATES. CONSIDER, FOR EXAMPLE, OUR LOSS OF INTELLIGENCE ON MISSILE TESTS AND TROOP MOVEMENTS IN THE U.S.S.R. SINCE THE EMBARGO BEGAN. CONSIDER, TOO, THAT THE STRATEGICALLY IMPORTANT TURKISH LAND MASS: (1) BLOCKS UNIMPEDED SOVIET ACCESS TO SYRIA AND IRAQ; (2) PROVIDES THE VITAL AIR DEFENSE WARNING UPON WHICH U.S. SHIPS IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN DEPEND; AND (3) BOTTLENECKS SOVIET WAR VESSELS MOVING FROM THE BLACK SEA INTO THE MEDITERRANEAN. OUR NATO ALLIES, CLOSELY AWARE OF THE CONCRETE REQUIREMENTS OF DEFENSE, URGE THE EMBARGO'S END. AT A TIME WHEN WE ARE ASKING ALL OUR NATO ALLIES TO INCREASE THEIR DEFENSE COMMITMENTS, IT IS UNWISE TO RISK THE VIABILITY OF THE SOUTH- UNCLASSIFIED

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ERN FLANK OF NATO.

THIRD, THE ARMS EMBARGO ENCOURAGES TURKEY TO RETHINK THE VALIDITY OF ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES AND NATO. THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE EMBARGO TRANSCEND PURELY MILITARY CONSIDERATIONS. TURKEY COMPLETED ITS FATEFUL TURN TOWARD THE WEST OVER 30 YEARS AGO. AS A RESULT, IT WAS SPURNED BY ITS MUSLIM AND ASIAN NEIGHBORS AND PRO- NOUNCED BY MANY AS THE "LACKEY OF THE WEST." THIS FORGOT- TEN BUT IMPORTANT HISTORY HELPS TO SUGGEST WHY TURKEY'S CURRENT ANGUISH OVER TREATMENT BY THE UNITED STATES IS SO GREAT. FEELING REJECTED BY TWO WORLDS, THE TURKS NOW

DRIFT--EMBARRASSED AND HOSTILE--TOWARD NEUTRALISM AND ALTERNATIVES EVEN MORE EXTREME. ONLY BY LIFTING THE EMBAR- GO CAN THE UNITED STATES HELP TO ARREST THIS DRIFT AND RESTORE BALANCE AND STABILITY TO A TROUBLED DEMOCRACY.

FOURTH, THE PRINCIPLE OF THE LAW HAS BEEN UPHELD. WE HAVE DEMONSTRATED TO ALL COUNTRIES WHICH PURCHASE MILITARY EQUIPMENT FROM THE UNITED STATES THAT WE ARE SERIOUS ABOUT THE LAW. IS IT NOT REASONABLE TO THINK THAT AN ARMS EM- BARGO WHICH HAS CRIPPLED TURKISH MILITARY CAPABILITIES FOR NEARLY 4 YEARS IS SUFFICIENT PUNISHMENT FOR THE MISUSE OF U.S. EQUIPMENT? AND IS NO ALLOWANCE TO BE MADE FOR THE COMPLEX CIRCUMSTANCES SURROUNDING THE INITIAL INCIDENT IT- SELF, INCLUDING TURKEY'S PERCEPTION OF ITS TREATY REQUIRE- MENTS AND ITS HISTORY OF FORBEARANCE IN THE FACE OF VIOLA- TIONS OF THE CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE TURKISH-CYPRIOT POPULATION ON CYPRUS? CLEARLY, THE TIME HAS COME TO QUES- TION WHETHER THE "RULE OF LAW" IS ENHANCED BY SUCH SINGLE- MINDED AND UNYIELDING APPLICATION. PUNISHMENT NEED NOT BE OF AN EXTENDED SCOPE AND PROLONGED DURATION TO BE USE- FUL. INDEED, PUNISHMENT BEYOND A CERTAIN POINT IS COUN- TERPRODUCTIVE.

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IN ADDITION, THE HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS THAT DO PERSIST IN CYPRUS CAN BETTER BE ADDRESSED IN THE CONTEXT OF NEGOTIA- TIONS FOR AN OVERALL CYPRUS SETTLEMENT, THAN IN THE PRE- SENT IMPASSE. THE U.S. ABILITY TO ASSIST IN RESOLVING THESE PROBLEMS WILL BE ENHANCED RATHER THAN DIMINISHED BY THE REPEAL OF THE ARMS EMBARGO.

IN SHORT, AFTER 3 YEARS OF IMPASSE AND DEEPENING RISK TO U.S. NATIONAL INTERESTS, IT IS TIME TO BREAK THE PRESENT IMPASSE AND LIFT THE EMBARGO. WE MUST ADOPT AN APPROACH MORE LIKELY TO STIMULATE A RESOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS PRO- BLEM AND MORE MINDFUL OF U.S. NEEDS AND CONCERNS IN THE

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